

# Susceptibility to coalitional strategic sponsoring

## The case of parliamentary agendas

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The date of receipt and acceptance will be inserted by the editor

**Abstract** It usually happens that the alternatives to be voted on in committees are chosen or sponsored by some particularly active committee members. For example, in parliaments, some representatives and some government members are known to be especially active in introducing bills on which the whole committee will later vote. It appears that parliamentary agendas - namely amendment and successive elimination voting rules - are vulnerable to strategic behavior by groups of individuals introducing motions which are not their most preferred alternatives. Our aim in this paper is to evaluate how frequently this type of behavior is susceptible to arise.

**Key words** Parliamentary agendas - Sponsoring - Strategic behavior - Impartial anonymous culture.

**JEL Classification** D71.

## 1 Introduction

Most of the literature on strategic voting studies the manipulation of individual preferences given the issue, that is the set of feasible alternatives. The main result on this topic is the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem (Gibbard 1973 and Satterthwaite 1975). It states that every nondictatorial voting procedure selecting a unique outcome is vulnerable to strategic manipulation of preferences, in the sense that one can find some configuration of

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preferences at which some individual has an incentive to misrepresent her preferences.

Besides, some authors are concerned with a related but different line of investigation, which takes account of a *variable* issue; in other words the set of alternatives open to the vote is not given *a priori*. This line must be distinguished from the literature on the strategic effects of agenda manipulation, which takes into consideration the strategic ordering of alternatives (see Banks 1985; Miller 1995).

One aspect of the variable issue analysis is *strategic candidacy*. More precisely, in an electoral context, strategic candidacy concerns the opportunity for a potential candidate who cannot win the election given the preferences of the voters, to opt in or to opt out, in order to secure another candidate she ranks higher in her preferences than the one who would win the election.

Recently, Osborne and Slivinski (1996) and Besley and Coate (1997) independently develop, in the context of representative democracy, the same basic model of electoral competition in which the political process is modeled as a three-stage game; they further assume that running as a candidate in the election is costly. In stage 1, each citizen decides whether or not to become a candidate; in the second stage, all citizens vote over the set of declared candidates; and in stage 3, the winner can implement her favorite policy and receive benefit from her position. Their main result states that there exist situations in which candidates, with no chance of winning, enter the election in order to affect the identity of the winner, even though such entry is both optional and costly.

In this same context, another important work is due to Dutta, Jackson and Le Breton (2000, 2001); they particularly focus on the incentive of candidates to strategically affect the outcome of a voting procedure. They give specific results for voting procedures based on sequential pairwise elimination of alternatives, but they also provide more general results. They show that the outcome of every nondictatorial voting rule satisfying a unanimity condition is susceptible to be affected by strategic candidacy, not only when the set of voters and candidates are distinct, but also when they overlap.

Another aspect of the variable issue approach, early introduced by Majumdar (1956), and later extensively discussed by Dutta and Pattanaik (1978), is the problem of *strategic sponsoring* of alternatives. In a famous example (see Section 2), Majumdar considers seven voters (the choosers) two of whom are sponsors (two political opponents or two especially energetic members of a committee who usually move all resolutions), and he assumes that all voters always vote according to their sincere preferences. This process of sponsoring takes place in two steps. First, sponsors choose the issue, and second the alternatives in the chosen issue are then submitted to the vote. The example shows that under simple majority rule, it can be advantageous for sponsors to select alternatives non sincerely, i.e. alternatives that do not come highest in their preference orderings.

Dutta and Pattanaik (1978) provide a generalization of the result of Majumdar. They prove that under a large class of voting procedures some voting situations will give individuals opportunities of strategic sponsoring.

One can easily imagine actual situations where the process of sponsoring takes place. The intuition behind the mechanisms we describe mainly refer to parliamentary agendas: in parliaments, some representatives and some government members introduce bills on which the whole committee will later vote. But many other examples can be found in various fields. This is the case for the pre-selection of candidates applying for a position in a firm or some other organization (e.g. lecturers in universities); it usually happens that a limited set of reporters chooses among candidates, and those who pass this step then constitute the set of alternatives submitted to the vote of all committee members. Another example can be found in the area of sports; for the election of the "Ballon d'or" of the journal "France Football", some football - or soccer - players are first selected by a limited set of French journalists and then there is a final vote by a larger international set of journalists. A similar but more sophisticated process can be found for the selection of the "NBA All-Star Games" players.

Also note that sponsoring of alternatives must be distinguished from the rule of  $k$  names where "given a set of alternatives a committee chooses  $k$  members from this set by voting and make a list with their names, then a single individual from outside the committee selects one of the list names for the office" (see Barbera and Coelho 2004).

In this paper, we examine strategic sponsoring under two families of parliamentary agendas widely studied in the literature (see Rasch 1995; Dutta, Jackson and Le Breton 2001; Mbih, Moyouwou and Picot 2008 among others). We now describe them.

Under these two rules, alternatives are ranked according to a predetermined order, say  $a_1a_2a_3$  in the three-alternative case. These rules are commonly used in Parliaments for votes on ordinary motions.

On the one hand, the Anglo-American system is based on a "two by two" procedure, namely the *amendment procedure*: the first ballot is taken between  $a_1$  and  $a_2$  in a pairwise majority contest, and the winner is taken against  $a_3$ ;

On the other hand, the *successive elimination* rule is used in most countries of Western Europe. Alternatives are considered "one by one": the first vote is on alternatives  $a_1$ ; if  $a_1$  wins a majority, the procedure terminates; if  $a_1$  is beaten, there is a second vote on  $a_2$ , and so on, until there is a winner or a unique alternative left. Note that this amounts to first having a majority contest between  $a_1$  and  $\{a_2, a_3\}$ , and then between  $a_2$  and  $a_3$  if necessary.

Parliamentary voting procedures are vulnerable to strategic sponsoring of alternatives (see Section 2). However, it remains to evaluate how frequently this behavior is susceptible to occur. As pointed out by Pattanaik (1978, p. 187)

*"This is important. For, if the likelihood of such strategic voting is negligible, then one need not be unduly worried about the existence of the possibility as such."*

In this contribution, for each of the procedures described above, we are interested in the quantitative significance of the possibilities of strategic sponsoring. Our evaluation relies on an analytical method, as opposed to computer simulations. We compute the exact frequency of strategic sponsoring opportunities under the impartial anonymous culture (IAC), a hypothesis introduced in social choice theory by Kuga and Nagatani (1974) and later developed by Gehrlein and Fishburn (1976). IAC is based on the assumption that all anonymous profiles (see Section 2) have the same probability of occurrence. In other words, our purpose is to compute the following ratio:

$$\frac{\text{number of anonymous profiles vulnerable to coalitional strategic sponsoring}}{\text{total number of all possible anonymous profiles}}$$

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 is a presentation of the general framework, with definitions, assumptions and some examples; Section 3 gives a characterization of coalitional strategic sponsoring situations; next, Section 4 provides our main results about strategic sponsoring; and finally Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2 Notations and definitions

Consider a finite set  $N$  of  $n$  voters (choosers), with  $n \geq 3$ , and a finite set  $\mathbb{S}$  of  $\sigma$  sponsors, with  $\sigma \geq 3$ .  $A$  will denote the set of alternatives, and  $2^A$  the set of all possible nonempty subsets of  $A$ . Further,  $B$  will denote the issue, that is the set of sponsored alternatives,  $B \in 2^A$ .

The process of sponsoring, which leads to final outcomes, takes place in two distinct stages. First, sponsors choose, within the set  $A$ , the alternatives that will be submitted to the vote at stage two. Each sponsor *independently* chooses one alternative within this set, and one same alternative can be chosen by more than one sponsor. The issue  $B$  is determined as the outcome of the choice of alternatives by sponsors. At stage two the voters express their individual preference orderings over  $B$ . And given a voting procedure and the preference orderings expressed by individuals over the issue, the final outcome is determined.

Notice that in real life not all individuals may be potential sponsors (for example, in parliaments, bills are only introduced by some active representatives or government members). We shall thus admit that  $\sigma \leq n$ . Moreover we assume that the sets of voters and sponsors are disjoint, i.e.  $\mathbb{S} \cap N = \emptyset$ . It was also possible to consider the case where  $\mathbb{S} \subset N$ . This distinction can be illustrated by the usual ways laws are introduced in Parliaments. For example in France (and many other countries), bills are proposed by ministers - who do not participate to the vote - while private bills are proposed by representatives - who participate to the vote. In our study, in order to avoid

unnecessary complexities, we only consider the case  $\mathbb{S} \cap N = \emptyset$ , since with a fixed number of sponsors and a large electorate, both cases lead to very similar results.

Let  $L$  be the set of all possible linear orderings on  $A$ , that is the set of all complete, antisymmetric and transitive binary relations on  $A$ .  $R^i$  denotes voter  $i$ 's preference relation and  $R^i \in L$ . A profile of voters' preferences is an  $n$ -tuple  $R^N = (R^1, R^2, \dots, R^n)$  of individual preference relations, one for each individual voter, and  $L^N$  is the set of all such profiles. In the same way for each sponsor  $j$ , let  $R^j$  be  $j$ 's preference relation; then  $R^{\mathbb{S}}$  is a profile of sponsors' preferences, and  $L^{\mathbb{S}}$  is the set of all such profiles.

We now present the strategic sponsoring behavior more formally. We first need some general definitions.

**Definition 1** *A social choice function (SCF) is a mapping  $f$  from  $L^N$  to  $A$ .*

Including a sponsoring process leads to a notion which is more general than an SCF. For each profile  $R^{\mathbb{S}}$  of sponsors preferences over the set  $A$  of alternatives, one issue  $B \in 2^A$  is selected by the choice of a single alternative by each sponsor. And for this issue, preferences of the voters determine the final outcome.

**Definition 2** *A social choice function with sponsoring (SCFS) is a mapping  $g$  from  $2^A \times L^{\mathbb{S}} \times L^N$  to  $A$ , such that for all  $(B, R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N) \in 2^A \times L^{\mathbb{S}} \times L^N$*

$$g(B, R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N) \in B.$$

Let  $\bar{B}$  be the set of sponsored alternatives when sponsors choose sincerely, that is when each of them chooses her most preferred alternative.  $\bar{B}$  is called a sincere issue.

**Definition 3** *Let  $S$  be the set of sponsors and  $\bar{B}$  the sincere issue. Given an SCFS  $g$ , a profile  $(R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N)$  is unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring if there exist some nonempty subset  $S'$  of  $S$  and some other issue  $B'$ , such that*

- (i)  $\bar{B} \cap B' \neq \emptyset$ ;
- (ii)  $g(\bar{B}, R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N) \neq g(B', R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N)$ ;
- (iii) and  $g(B', R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N) R^j g(\bar{B}, R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N)$  for all  $j \in S'$ .

In words, strategic sponsoring occurs if there exists some group of sponsors  $S'$  (possibly a single sponsor), who have an incentive to sponsor another alternative in order to ensure that the new outcome is better from their viewpoint.

**Definition 4** *A social choice function with sponsoring  $g$  is vulnerable to coalitional strategic sponsoring if there exists at least one profile  $(\bar{B}, R^{\mathbb{S}}, R^N)$  unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring.*

In the sequel, where there is no ambiguity we shall simply write unstable *via* strategic sponsoring.

Note that a society choosing an alternative from a finite set using an SCFS can be viewed as a game in normal form where (i) the set of players is the whole set of agents, sponsors and voters, although we suppose here that only sponsors can behave strategically; (ii) the set of strategies open to agents is the set of all linear orders on  $A$ , and (iii) the payoff function is the SCFS. With this interpretation of our context, an unstable situation via coalitional strategic sponsoring appears as a profile that *is not a strong equilibrium point* of the given game.

To illustrate the strategic sponsoring process, let us now present the (famous) example of Majumdar (1956).

*Example 1* Suppose there are two sponsors 1 and 2 among seven voters; further there are four alternatives,  $a_1, a_2, a_3$  and  $a_4$ , and the SCFS is the plurality rule. Note that, in contrast to our study Majumdar assumes that the sponsors participate to the vote. Individual preferences are as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
$a_4$	$a_3$	$a_1$	$a_3$	$a_3$	$a_2$	$a_4$
$a_1$	$a_2$	$a_2$	$a_4$	$a_1$	$a_1$	$a_2$
$a_2$	$a_1$	$a_3$	$a_2$	$a_4$	$a_3$	$a_1$
$a_3$	$a_4$	$a_4$	$a_1$	$a_2$	$a_4$	$a_3$

If we suppose that the sponsors choose sincerely, then the sincere issue is  $\bar{B} = \{a_3, a_4\}$ . Then the voters express their individual preference orderings over  $\bar{B}$ , and  $a_3$  is chosen. But if sponsor 1 decides to sponsor  $a_1$  instead of  $a_4$ , then the new issue is  $B' = \{a_1, a_3\}$ , and  $a_1$  is chosen. And since sponsor 1 prefers  $a_1$  to  $a_3$ , it appears that the profile above is unstable *via* strategic sponsoring.

Up to now, all definitions and the example above have been given in terms of profiles, but only for convenience. In the remainder of this work, we will be interested only in anonymous profiles, in the sense that we do not distinguish between two profiles that differ only by the identity of the individuals who express the same preference relation. In other words, the outcome of a given configuration of individual preferences only depends on the number of individuals with some type of preference relation, and not on which individuals have that type of preferences. Thus, we assume anonymity over the set of voters and over the set of sponsors.

From now on, we shall focus on the three-alternative case. Given a set  $A = \{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ , there are exactly six linear orderings on  $A$ , labeled below:

$R_1 : a_1 a_2 a_3, R_2 : a_1 a_3 a_2, R_3 : a_2 a_1 a_3, R_4 : a_2 a_3 a_1, R_5 : a_3 a_1 a_2, R_6 : a_3 a_2 a_1.$

Then, a *voting situation*  $\mathbf{n}$  is an anonymous voting profile obtained from a profile  $R^N$  by rewriting it as  $\mathbf{n} = (n_1, n_2, n_3, n_4, n_5, n_6)$ , where for each

$k = 1, \dots, 6$ ,  $n_k$  is the number of voters in  $N$  with preference relation  $R_k$ . A situation is thus a 6-tuple of natural integers such that  $\sum_{k=1}^6 n_k = n$ . The set of all voting situations will be denoted  $\mathfrak{N}$ . Given a voting situation  $\mathbf{n} \in \mathfrak{N}$  and two alternatives  $a_j$  and  $a_k$ ,  $n(a_j, a_k, \mathbf{n})$  is the number of voters who prefer  $a_j$  to  $a_k$  given situation  $\mathbf{n}$ .

Likewise, a *sponsoring situation*  $s = (s_1, s_2, s_3, s_4, s_5, s_6)$  is obtained from a profile  $R^S$  where  $s_k$  is the number of individuals in  $S$  with preference relation  $R_k$  and  $\sum_{k=1}^6 s_k = \sigma$ . The set of all sponsoring situations will be denoted  $S$ . And  $\sigma(a_j, a_k, s)$  is the number of sponsors who prefer  $a_j$  to  $a_k$  given situation  $s$ .

Note that every profile  $(R^S, R^N)$  can be rewritten as a situation  $(s, \mathbf{n})$ ;  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  is then said to be associated with  $(R^S, R^N)$ . The definition below follows straightforwardly from Definitions 3 and 4.

**Definition 5** *A situation is unstable (via coalitional strategic sponsoring) if it is associated with an unstable profile.*

**Definition 6** *A social choice function with sponsoring  $g$ , is vulnerable to coalitional strategic sponsoring if there exists some unstable situation under  $g$ .*

In our study we consider two families of parliamentary agendas, namely the amendment and successive elimination procedures, with possibly qualified majority. An  $\alpha$ -majority contest, first introduced in the social choice literature by Slutsky (1979), is a rule under which, given some  $\alpha \in ]0, 1[$  and a voting situation  $\mathbf{n}$ , an alternative  $a_h$  is socially preferred to (at least as good as)  $a_k$  if the number of individuals who prefer  $a_h$  to  $a_k$  is at least  $\frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha}$  times the number of individuals who prefer  $a_k$  to  $a_h$ . Moreover, ties are broken in favor of the alternatives with the greatest index, which can be written as follows:

$$a_h \text{ beats } a_k \Leftrightarrow \begin{cases} h < k \Rightarrow n(a_k, a_h, \mathbf{n}) < \alpha n(\mathbf{n}) \\ k < h \Rightarrow n(a_h, a_k, \mathbf{n}) \geq \alpha n(\mathbf{n}) \end{cases}$$

Notice that simple majority corresponds to  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ . Also note that small values of  $\alpha$  give a significant advantage to alternatives with greater indices. Reciprocally, large values of  $\alpha$  give an advantage to alternatives with smaller indices.

Under the  $\alpha$ -amendment procedure (denoted  $AP_\alpha$ ) one assigns to a voting situation  $\mathbf{n}$  the alternative  $AP_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  defined as follows:

- (a) if  $B$  contains a single alternative  $x$ , then  $AP_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n}) = x$ ;
- (b) if  $B$  is a pair of two alternatives  $x$  and  $y$ , then  $AP_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  is the winner of the  $\alpha$ -majority contest between  $x$  and  $y$ ;
- (c) if  $B = \{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$  then  $AP_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  is selected from the  $\alpha$ -majority contest between  $a_3$  and the winner of the  $\alpha$ -majority contest between  $a_1$  and  $a_2$ . Then, only one of the four scenarios below holds:

$a_1$  beats  $a_2$  at the first ballot and  $a_1$  beats  $a_3$  at the second ballot

$a_1$  beats  $a_2$  at the first ballot and  $a_3$  beats  $a_1$  at the second ballot

$a_2$  beats  $a_1$  at the first ballot and  $a_2$  beats  $a_3$  at the second ballot

$a_2$  beats  $a_1$  at the first ballot and  $a_3$  beats  $a_2$  at the second ballot

Under the  $\alpha$ -successive elimination procedure (denoted  $SE_\alpha$ ), one assigns to a voting situation  $\mathbf{n}$  the alternative  $SE_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  defined as follows:

- (i) if  $B$  contains at most two alternatives then  $SE_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  and  $AP_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  coincide;
- (ii) for  $B = \{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ , voters have to compare  $A_1 = \{a_1\}$  and  $A_2 = \{a_2, a_3\}$  at the first ballot. If  $A_1$  is selected then  $SE_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n}) = a_1$ , otherwise  $SE_\alpha(B, s, \mathbf{n})$  is the winner of the  $\alpha$ -majority contest between  $a_2$  and  $a_3$  at the second ballot. Then, only one of the three scenarios below holds:

$a_1$  beats  $\{a_2, a_3\}$  at the first ballot

$\{a_2, a_3\}$  beats  $a_1$  at the first ballot and  $a_2$  beats  $a_3$  at the second ballot

$\{a_2, a_3\}$  beats  $a_1$  at the first ballot and  $a_3$  beats  $a_2$  at the second ballot

Further, for the latter class of procedures, every individual must compare  $A_1 = \{a_1\}$  with the set  $A_2 = \{a_2, a_3\}$ . Thus additional information on individual behavior has to be provided, explaining from  $R^i$  which subset, out of  $A_1 = \{a_1\}$  and  $A_2 = \{a_2, a_3\}$ , is most preferred by voter  $i$ . We then assume that there are two types of voters in society  $N$ , with two distinct attitudes, namely maximin behavior or maximax behavior.

Then, with the successive elimination rules, we shall consider two different families of procedures:

(1) the voters are all supposed to have maximin behavior, then we denote this type of successive elimination rules,  $SEm_\alpha$ ;

(2) and the voters are all supposed to have maximax behavior, then we denote this type of successive elimination rules,  $SEM_\alpha$ .

The reader can easily check that these two families of rules are vulnerable to strategic sponsoring, as illustrated by the following example.

*Example 2* Consider three sponsors who do not participate to the vote, five voters, and alternatives  $a_1$ ,  $a_2$  and  $a_3$ .  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}$  is the voting rule. Assume individual preferences are as follows:

$R_k$	Sponsors			$R_k$	Voters			
	$R_1$	$R_3$	$R_4$		$R_1$	$R_3$	$R_5$	$R_6$
	$a_1$	$a_2$	$a_2$		$a_1$	$a_2$	$a_3$	$a_3$
	$a_3$	$a_1$	$a_3$		$a_2$	$a_1$	$a_1$	$a_2$
	$a_2$	$a_3$	$a_1$		$a_3$	$a_3$	$a_2$	$a_1$
$s_k$	1	1	1	$s_k$	1	1	2	1



A sincere behavior by the sponsors leads to  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_2\}$  and  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}(\bar{B}, s, \mathbf{n}) = a_1$ . However if sponsor with preference  $R_3$  chooses  $a_3$  rather than  $a_2$ , then the new issue is  $B' = \{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$  and  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}(B', s, \mathbf{n}) = a_3$ . We observe that  $a_3$  is preferred to  $a_1$  by that sponsor.

Our main purpose in this contribution to social choice theory is to compare the three families of rules described above through their vulnerability to strategic sponsoring, for any possible situation. In order to do that, we compute the ratio

$$\frac{\text{number of situations } (s, \mathbf{n}) \text{ unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring}}{\text{total number of all possible situations } (s, \mathbf{n})}$$

Note that such frequency evaluations are based on the hypothesis that all possible situations  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  have the same probability of occurrence. Thus, as said above, we assume anonymity over the set of voters and over the set of sponsors.

In the next two sections, we characterize situations at which for each voting system considered in this paper coalitional strategic sponsoring is susceptible to occur. And these characterizations are then used to obtain formulae giving frequencies measuring the vulnerability of those systems to strategic sponsoring.

### 3 Characterizations of unstable situations

As explained in Definition 6, a social choice function with sponsoring  $g$ , is vulnerable to coalitional strategic sponsoring if there exists some unstable situation under  $g$ . This section characterizes the sets of all situations  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  unstable via strategic sponsoring. More precisely, to illustrate the reasoning, we focus on the particular case where  $a_1$  is the initial winner. For a general characterization of vulnerable situation for amendment and successive elimination procedures with maximin and maximax see the associated working paper (Courtin, Mbih and Moyouwou 2008). Likewise, not all proofs are given below, because they are very similar; we only provide details for the proof concerning the amendment procedure. For all the other proofs, the reader can refer to the associated working paper.

#### 3.1 Preliminary observations on strategic sponsoring

Given a set of three distinct alternatives  $\{a_h, a_j, a_k\}$ , let us consider a social choice function with sponsors. We assume that sponsors can choose only one alternative. Depending on sponsors preferences, several sincere issues  $\bar{B}$  are conceivable. Moreover, according to a particular sincere issue, strategic behavior by the sponsors can occur in several ways.

First suppose that  $\bar{B}$  consists of a unique alternative  $a_h$ , that is all sponsors have  $a_h$  as the same most preferred alternative. Then by the definition of a social choice function with sponsors,  $a_h$  is selected by the voters. Since  $a_h$  is trivially the best outcome for each sponsor, therefore there is clearly no way for strategic sponsoring.

Now suppose that the sincere issue is  $\bar{B} = \{a_h, a_j\}$  and without loss of generality, assume that  $a_h$  is elected. Then there are three types of possible collective strategic sponsoring: the new issue is  $\{a_h, a_k\}$  and  $a_k$  is finally elected (Type 1); the new issue is  $\{a_h, a_j, a_k\}$  and  $a_j$  wins (Type 2); and the new issue is  $\{a_h, a_j, a_k\}$  and  $a_k$  wins (Type 3). Note that strategic behavior in case Type 3 is undertaken in favor of alternative  $a_k$ , which is added to the sincere issue  $\bar{B}$ , while in case Type 2, strategic sponsoring is in favor of  $a_j$ , which was already sponsored in  $\bar{B}$ . Also observe that, for strategic sponsoring to occur, the case where the new issue is  $\{a_h\}$  is not possible since  $a_h$  is already the winner. In the same way, from  $\bar{B} = \{a_h, a_j\}$ , situations where the new issue is  $\{a_j\}$  or  $\{a_k\}$  or  $\{a_j, a_k\}$  are not rational, since this would require a change by  $a_h$ 's sponsors, which is not possible since  $a_h$  is their most preferred alternative.

Finally, suppose that  $\bar{B} = \{a_h, a_j, a_k\}$  and that  $a_h$  is elected. Then there is a unique way for strategic sponsoring to occur, Type 4, that is the new issue is  $\{a_h, a_j\}$  and  $a_j$  is elected (or  $\{a_h, a_k\}$  is the new issue and  $a_k$  wins). For the same reason as above, situations where the new issue is  $\{a_h\}$ ,  $\{a_j\}$ ,  $\{a_k\}$  or  $\{a_j, a_k\}$  are not feasible.

In the next subsection and for each social choice function with sponsoring under study, strategic attitudes Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 will be useful in the proofs of characterizations results.

### 3.2 Unstable situations via strategic sponsoring

The statement below describes how a situation  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  must be in order for it to be subject to possible strategic sponsoring. For simplicity, we only consider the case where  $a_1$  is elected.

**Proposition 1** *Suppose  $AP_\alpha$  is the voting rule and  $a_1$  is elected given some situation  $(s, \mathbf{n})$ . Then  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  is unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring if and only if*

$$\begin{array}{ll} (1.a) & \text{or } (1.d) \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n_1 + n_2 + n_5 > n - \alpha n & (1.1) \\ n_4 + n_5 + n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.2) \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 & (1.3) \\ s_4 \geq 1 & (1.4) \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_4 = \sigma & (1.5) \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n_1 + n_2 + n_3 > n - \alpha n & (1.18) \\ n_3 + n_4 + n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.19) \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 & (1.20) \\ s_6 \geq 1 & (1.21) \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_6 = \sigma & (1.22) \end{array} \right. \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ll}
\text{or (1.b)} & \text{or (1.e)} \\
\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n_1+n_2+n_5 > n-\alpha n & (1.6) \\ n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.7) \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 & (1.8) \\ s_3+s_4 \geq 2 & (1.9) \\ s_4 \geq 1 & (1.10) \\ s_1+s_2+s_3+s_4 = \sigma & (1.11) \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n_1+n_2+n_3 > n-\alpha n & (1.23) \\ n_3+n_4+n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.24) \\ n_1+n_3+n_4 > n-\alpha n & (1.25) \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 & (1.26) \\ s_5+s_6 \geq 2 & (1.27) \\ s_6 \geq 1 & (1.28) \\ s_1+s_2+s_5+s_6 = \sigma & (1.29) \end{array} \right.
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ll}
\text{or (1.c)} & \\
\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n_1+n_2+n_3 > n-\alpha n & (1.12) \\ n_3+n_4+n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.13) \\ n_2+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n & (1.14) \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 & (1.15) \\ s_5+s_6 \geq 2 & (1.16) \\ s_1+s_2+s_5+s_6 = \sigma & (1.17) \end{array} \right. &
\end{array}$$

*Proof Necessity.* Let  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  be an unstable situation and suppose that  $a_1$  is elected. From the previous analysis, the sincere issue is  $\{a_1, a_2\}$ ,  $\{a_1, a_3\}$  or  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ .

First suppose that the sincere issue  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_2\}$ . Only strategic sponsoring Type 1, Type 2 or Type 3 are conceivable.

Type 1: the new issue is  $\{a_1, a_3\}$  and strategic sponsoring initiated by the sponsors of  $a_2$  is in favor of  $a_3$  (1.a). Therefore there is at least one sponsor with preference  $a_1a_2a_3$  or  $a_1a_3a_2$  (1.3), at least one sponsor with preference  $a_2a_3a_1$  (1.4) and no sponsor with preference  $a_2a_1a_3$  ( $s_3 = 0$  in (1.5) (since such a sponsor has no incentive to favor  $a_3$ ). Also observe that since  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_2\}$ , no sponsor has preference  $a_3a_1a_2$  nor  $a_3a_2a_1$  ( $s_5 = s_6 = 0$  in 1.5). Given the sincere issue  $\bar{B}$ ,  $a_1$  beats  $a_2$  (1.1) and given the new issue  $\{a_1, a_3\}$ ,  $a_3$  beats  $a_1$  (1.2).

Type 2: the new issue is  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$  and strategic sponsoring is initiated by the sponsors of  $a_2$  in favor of  $a_3$  (1.b). Then there is at least one sponsor with preference  $a_1a_2a_3$  or  $a_1a_3a_2$  (1.8), at least two sponsors for  $a_2$  (1.9) with at least one sponsor with preference  $a_2a_3a_1$  (1.10). And since  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_2\}$ , no sponsor has preference  $a_3a_1a_2$  or  $a_3a_2a_1$  ( $s_5 = s_6 = 0$  in 1.11). According to the sincere issue  $\bar{B}$ ,  $a_1$  beats  $a_2$  (1.6) and given the new issue  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ ,  $a_1$  beats  $a_2$  (1.6) and  $a_3$  beats  $a_1$  (1.7), (note that at the first ballot  $a_1$  beats necessarily  $a_2$ ).

Type 3: the new issue is  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$  and strategic sponsoring must be in favor of  $a_2$ . However  $a_1$  beats again  $a_2$  at the first ballot. Therefore strategic sponsoring Type 3 does not occur under the amendment procedure. Note that this is a consequence of the predetermined order  $a_1a_2a_3$  of pairwise majority contests.

Now assume that the sincere issue  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_3\}$ . Only strategic sponsoring Type 1, Type 2 or Type 3 are conceivable. For Type 1 (1.d) and type 2

(1.e), the proof is similar to the one above (just replace  $a_2$  with  $a_3$  and  $a_3$  with  $a_2$ ).

Type 3: the new issue is  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$  and strategic sponsoring initiated by the sponsors of  $a_3$  is in favor of  $a_3$  (1.c). Then there is at least one sponsor with preference  $a_1a_2a_3$  or  $a_1a_3a_2$  (1.15), at least two sponsors for  $a_3$  (1.16) and no sponsor with preference  $a_2a_1a_3$  nor  $a_2a_3a_1$  ( $s_3 = s_4 = 0$  in (1.17)). Given the sincere issue  $\bar{B}$ ,  $a_1$  beats  $a_3$  (1.12) and given the new issue  $\{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ ,  $a_2$  must beat  $a_1$  at the first ballot (1.13); if not,  $a_1$  will defeat  $a_3$  at the second ballot. And  $a_3$  beats  $a_2$  at the second ballot (1.14).

Finally, assume  $\bar{B} = \{a_1, a_2, a_3\}$ . Then only strategic sponsoring Type 4 is conceivable.

Type 4: the new issues must be  $\{a_1, a_2\}$  or  $\{a_1, a_3\}$ , but  $a_1$  beats both  $a_2$  and  $a_3$ . Therefore there is no strategic sponsoring Type 4 under the amendment procedure.

*Sufficiency.* It is straightforward that strategic sponsoring Type 1 occurs under constraints (1.a) or (1.d); strategic sponsoring Type 2 occurs under constraints (1.b) or (1.e); and strategic sponsoring Type 3 occurs under constraints (1.c).

We then consider successive elimination with maximin behavior.

**Proposition 2** *Suppose  $SEm_\alpha$  is the voting rule and  $a_1$  is elected given some situation  $(s, \mathbf{n})$ . Then  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  is unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring if and only if*

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 \text{(2.a)} & \text{or (2.b)} \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1 + n_2 + n_5 > n - \alpha n \\ n_4 + n_5 + n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_4 \geq 1 \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_4 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1 + n_2 + n_3 > n - \alpha n \\ n_3 + n_4 + n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_6 \geq 1 \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right. \\
 \\
 \text{or (2.c)} & \text{or (2.d)} \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1 + n_2 + n_3 + n_5 > n - \alpha n \\ n_3 + n_4 + n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_3 + s_4 \geq 1 \\ s_6 \geq 1 \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_3 + s_4 + s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1 + n_2 + n_3 + n_5 > n - \alpha n \\ n_4 + n_5 + n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1 + s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_5 + s_6 \geq 1 \\ s_4 \geq 1 \\ s_1 + s_2 + s_4 + s_5 + s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

And finally, successive elimination with maximax behavior.

**Proposition 3** Suppose  $SEM_\alpha$  is the voting rule and  $a_1$  is elected given some situation  $(s, \mathbf{n})$ . Then  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  is unstable via coalitional strategic sponsoring if and only if

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 (3.a) & \text{or } (3.b) & \text{or } (3.c) \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_5 > n-\alpha n \\ n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_4 \geq 1 \\ s_1+s_2+s_4 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_3 > n-\alpha n \\ n_3+n_4+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_6 \geq 1 \\ s_1+s_2+s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_5 > n-\alpha n \\ n_3+n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ n_2+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_3+s_4 \geq 2 \\ s_4 \geq 1 \\ s_1+s_2+s_3+s_4 = \sigma \end{array} \right. \\
 \text{or } (3.d) & \text{or } (3.e) & \text{or } (3.f) \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_3 > n-\alpha n \\ n_3+n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ n_1+n_3+n_4 > n-\alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_5+s_6 \geq 2 \\ s_6 \geq 1 \\ s_1+s_2+s_5+s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_5 > n-\alpha n \\ n_3+n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ n_1+n_3+n_4 > n-\alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_3+s_4 \geq 2 \\ s_1+s_2+s_3+s_4 = \sigma \end{array} \right. & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1+n_2+n_3 > n-\alpha n \\ n_3+n_4+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ n_2+n_5+n_6 \geq \alpha n \\ s_1+s_2 \geq 1 \\ s_5+s_6 \geq 2 \\ s_1+s_2+s_5+s_6 = \sigma \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

In the next section, these characterizations will be subsequently used to compute the likelihood of strategic sponsoring opportunities.

#### 4 Strategic sponsoring occurrence

In this section and for each of the rules under study, two series of results are provided: (i) we first give formulae stating, for  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ , the frequencies of coalitional strategic sponsoring with respect to  $n$  and  $\sigma$  and (ii) we then give general formulae stating those frequencies as a function of  $\alpha$ ,  $n$  and  $\sigma$ . We also consider special cases, specifically when the electorate is infinitely large or when the number of sponsors is arbitrarily fixed. All these results are derived from the characterizations of unstable situations by the use of computerised evaluations processes based on the same technique as the one in Gehrlein and Fishburn (1976), Gehrlein and Lepelley (1999) or Huang and Chua (2000).

Let us recall that the total number of situations  $(s, \mathbf{n})$  with three alternatives is  $\binom{\sigma+5}{5} \binom{n+5}{5} = \frac{(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+1)(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)}{14400}$

##### 4.1 Amendment rules

Let  $H(\alpha, n, \sigma)$  be the likelihood that under amendment rules with  $\alpha$ -majority contests, a strategic sponsoring situation exists with  $n$  voters and  $\sigma$  sponsors. We shall first consider the case  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ . We obtain the following results:

**Proposition 4** Let  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}$  be the voting rule. Suppose  $\sigma$  is a fixed proportion  $k$  of  $n$ , that is  $\sigma = \frac{n}{k}$ . Then for  $n \geq 2$ ,  $H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{k}) =$

$$\begin{cases} \frac{5kn(-24k^4n - 144k^4 - 290k^3n^2 - 1740k^3n - 1280k^3 + 215k^2n^3 +)}{16(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+1)(n+5)(k+n)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5k(-24k^4n^2 - 144k^4n + 168k^4 - 290k^3n^3 - 1740k^3n^2 - 1810k^3n + 215k^2n^4 +)}{16(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+2)(n+4)(k+n)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

For some special values of  $k$ , we have:

**Corollary 1** Suppose  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}$  is the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{5}) = \begin{cases} \frac{25n(n^5 + 376n^4 + 7595n^3 - 2400n^2 - 208500n - 250000)}{16(n+1)(n+5)^2(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{25(n^6 + 376n^5 + 7588n^4 - 1790n^3 - 198125n^2 - 316250n + 105000)}{16(n+2)(n+4)(n+5)(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

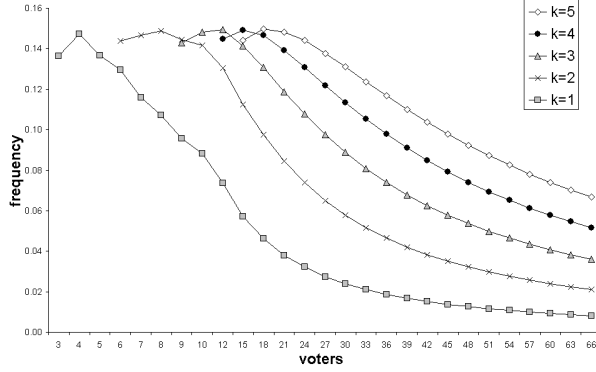
$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{4}) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(n^5 + 302n^4 + 5216n^3 + 3360n^2 - 102144n - 118784)}{4(n+1)(n+4)(n+5)(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(n^6 + 302n^5 + 5209n^4 + 3848n^3 - 95504n^2 - 152704n + 43008)}{4(n+2)(n+4)^2(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{3}) = \begin{cases} \frac{15n(n^5 + 228n^4 + 3267n^3 + 4740n^2 - 40284n - 46224)}{16(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{15(n^6 + 228n^5 + 3260n^4 + 5106n^3 - 36549n^2 - 60534n + 13608)}{16(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{2}) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(n^5 + 154n^4 + 1748n^3 + 3480n^2 - 10464n - 12544)}{8(n+1)(n+2)(n+4)(n+5)(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(n^6 + 154n^5 + 1741n^4 + 3724n^3 - 8804n^2 - 16784n + 2688)}{8(n+2)^2(n+4)^2(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, n) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(n^5 + 80n^4 + 659n^3 + 1320n^2 - 804n - 1424)}{16(n+1)^2(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)^2} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(n-1)(n^5 + 81n^4 + 733n^3 + 2175n^2 + 1786n - 168)}{16(n+1)(n+2)^2(n+3)(n+4)^2(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

These results can also be stated graphically in Figure 1:



**Fig.1** Strategic sponsoring under amendment with  $\frac{n}{k}$  sponsors

Note that with any fixed proportion  $\frac{n}{k}$  of sponsors, frequencies tend to 0 as the number of voters rises. Also notice that given a fixed number of voters, the smaller the number of sponsors as compared with the number of voters, the higher the frequencies of coalitional strategic sponsoring. For example for  $n = 577$ , the size of the french parliament, the frequencies are 0.004 for  $k = 5$  and 0.001 for  $k = 2$ . That is for  $n = 577$ , when the number of sponsors is five times less than the number of voters, strategic sponsoring occurs almost three times more than when the number of sponsors is half the number of voters. Table 1 in Appendix summarizes the results above.

Let us now present the more general formulae corresponding to  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ .

**Proposition 5** Suppose  $AP_{\frac{1}{2}}$  is the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$  and  $\sigma \geq 3$ ,

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma) = \begin{cases} \frac{5(n^2\sigma^4 + 74n^2\sigma^3 + 215n^2\sigma^2 - 290n^2\sigma - 24n^2 + 6n\sigma^4 + 444n\sigma^3 + 1290n\sigma^2 - 1740n\sigma - 144n + 320\sigma^3 + 960\sigma^2 - 1280\sigma)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+1)(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(n^2\sigma^4 + 74n^2\sigma^3 + 215n^2\sigma^2 - 290n^2\sigma - 24n^2 + 6n\sigma^4 + 444n\sigma^3 + 1290n\sigma^2 - 1740n\sigma - 144n - 7\sigma^4 + 442\sigma^3 + 1375\sigma^2 - 1810\sigma + 168)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+2)(n+4)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

**Corollary 2** In a large society,

$$H(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma) = \frac{5(\sigma^4 + 74\sigma^3 + 215\sigma^2 - 290\sigma - 24)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)}$$

For some special values of  $\sigma$ , we have:

$\sigma$ (sponsors)	3	4	5	6
$H(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma)$	0.145	0.150	0.142	0.131

These different limits show that the occurrence of strategic sponsoring, with large value of  $n$ , is maximal for 4 sponsors and then decreases as  $\sigma$  rises. Also note that  $H(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma)$  tends to 0 when  $\sigma$  tends to infinity.

From the characterizations of unstable situations above, we also derive general formulae stating those frequencies as a function of  $\alpha$ ,  $n$  and  $\sigma$ . Since these formulae are not easily interpretable, the reader can refer to the associated working paper. However, Figure 3 below gives an illustration of this type of relations when the number of sponsors and the number of voters are large. We then give simpler formulae below, specifically when the electorate is infinitely large and the number of sponsors is arbitrarily fixed.

**Proposition 6** *Suppose that  $AP_\alpha$  is the voting rule,  $\sigma$  changes from 3 to 6 and  $n$  tends to infinity, then*

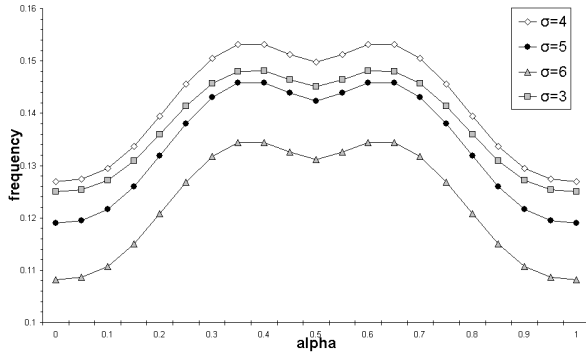
$$H(\alpha, \infty, 3) = \begin{cases} \frac{180\alpha^3 - 630\alpha^4 + 576\alpha^5 + 7}{56} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-900\alpha + 2520\alpha^2 - 3420\alpha^3 + 2250\alpha^4 - 576\alpha^5 + 133}{56} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$H(\alpha, \infty, 4) = \begin{cases} \frac{230\alpha^3 - 805\alpha^4 + 736\alpha^5 + 8}{63} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-1150\alpha + 3220\alpha^2 - 4370\alpha^3 + 2875\alpha^4 - 736\alpha^5 + 169}{63} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$H(\alpha, \infty, 5) = \begin{cases} \frac{470\alpha^3 - 1645\alpha^4 + 1504\alpha^5 + 15}{126} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-2350\alpha + 6580\alpha^2 - 8930\alpha^3 + 5875\alpha^4 - 1504\alpha^5 + 344}{126} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$H(\alpha, \infty, 6) = \begin{cases} \frac{1690\alpha^3 - 5915\alpha^4 + 5408\alpha^5 + 50}{462} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{(-8450\alpha + 23660\alpha^2 - 32110\alpha^3 + 21125\alpha^4 - 5408\alpha^5 + 1233)}{462} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

The expressions above can be plotted as follows in Figure 2:



**Fig.2** Strategic sponsoring under amendment for a large electorate

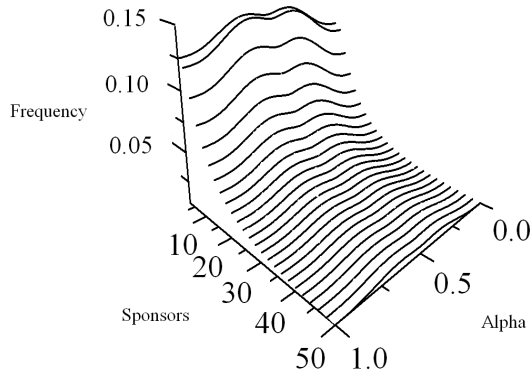
The four curves reveal a strict symmetry with respect to line  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ , a local minimum. Moreover, the four frequency curves have the same two local maxima, at  $\alpha = \frac{3}{8} = 0.375$  and at  $\alpha = \frac{5}{8} = 0.625$ . In other words, this means that strategic sponsoring is more likely to occur when the quota is 37.5% or 62.5%. We can also note that the frequencies rise between 3 and 4 sponsors and then decrease for 5 and 6 sponsors. At  $\alpha = \frac{3}{8}$  or  $\frac{5}{8}$ ,



$\sigma$ (sponsors)	3	4	5	6
$H(\alpha, \infty, \sigma) =$	0.148	0.153	0.146	0.135

This means that strategic sponsoring is most likely to occur when the number  $\sigma$  of sponsors is fixed to four.

Figure 3 illustrates the following facts: (i) frequencies decrease as the number of sponsors rises; (ii) there is a strict symmetry with respect to line  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ , for any number of sponsors; (iii) furthermore, the value  $\alpha$  at the local maxima remain constant whatever the number of voters and sponsors; this can easily be checked by the reader, by taking the derivative with respect to  $\alpha$  and setting it equal to 0.



**Fig.3** Strategic sponsoring under amendment for a large electorate

To summarize, we have shown that for amendment procedures, the frequency of occurrence is maximal for 4 sponsors and for  $\alpha$  equal to  $\frac{5}{8}$  or  $\frac{3}{8}$ . In the context of simple majority contests the frequencies of strategic sponsoring get smaller and smaller as the number of sponsors grows.

#### 4.2 Successive elimination rules with maximin voters

Let  $K(\alpha, n, \sigma)$  be the likelihood that under successive elimination rules with  $\alpha$ -majority contests and with maximin voters, a strategic sponsoring situation exists with  $n$  voters and  $\sigma$  sponsors. As above, we first consider the case  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ .

**Proposition 7** Let  $SEm_{\frac{1}{2}}$  be the voting rule and  $\sigma$  a fixed proportion  $k$  of  $n$ . Then for  $n \geq 2$ ,  $K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{k}) =$

$$\begin{cases} \frac{5kn(-96k^4n^2 - 804k^4n - 1368k^4 - 462k^3n^3 - 3878k^3n^2 - 7276k^3n - 1920k^3 + 187k^2n^4 + 1628k^2n^3 + 3516k^2n^2 + 1440k^2n + 78kn^5 + 662kn^4 + 1324kn^3 + 480kn^2 + 5n^6 + 40n^5 + 60n^4)}{8(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)(k+n)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5k(-96k^4n^2 - 456k^4n - 408k^4 - 462k^3n^3 - 2212k^3n^2 - 2526k^3n + 187k^2n^4 + 1012k^2n^3 + 1161k^2n^2 + 78kn^5 + 388kn^4 + 414kn^3 + 5n^6 + 20n^5 + 15n^4)}{8(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+2)(n+4)(k+n)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

For some special values of  $k$ , we have:

**Corollary 3** Suppose  $SEm_{\frac{1}{2}}$  is the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$

$$K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{5}) = \begin{cases} \frac{125n(n^6 + 86n^5 + 1609n^4 - 2086n^3 - 90890n^2 - 275200n - 219000)}{8(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)^2(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{125(n^6 + 82n^5 + 1326n^4 - 6076n^3 - 61495n^2 - 120150n - 51000)}{8(n+2)(n+4)(n+5)(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

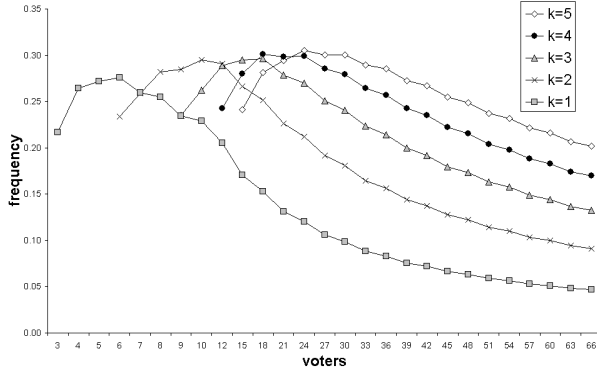
$$K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{4}) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(5n^6 + 352n^5 + 5700n^4 + 1776n^3 - 214592n^2 - 648448n - 473088)}{2(n+1)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(5n^6 + 332n^5 + 4559n^4 - 11720n^3 - 147568n^2 - 278400n - 104448)}{2(n+2)(n+4)^2(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{3}) = \begin{cases} \frac{15n(5n^6 + 274n^5 + 3729n^4 + 6150n^3 - 79398n^2 - 248616n - 162648)}{8(n+1)(n+3)^2(n+5)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{15(5n^5 + 239n^4 + 2145n^3 - 8559n^2 - 31374n - 11016)}{8(n+2)(n+4)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{2}) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(5n^6 + 196n^5 + 2132n^4 + 5464n^3 - 17536n^2 - 65312n - 37248)}{4(n+1)(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(5n^5 + 166n^4 + 1207n^3 - 1234n^2 - 12120n - 3264)}{(4n+8)(n+4)^2(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$K(\frac{1}{2}, n, n) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(5n^6 + 118n^5 + 909n^4 + 2490n^3 + 22n^2 - 6640n - 3288)}{8(n+1)^2(n+2)(n+3)^2(n+4)(n+5)^2} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(5n^6 + 98n^5 + 590n^4 + 964n^3 - 1147n^2 - 2982n - 408)}{8(n+1)(n+2)^2(n+3)(n+4)^2(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

Graphically we have in Figure 4:



**Fig. 4** Strategic sponsoring under maximin with  $\frac{n}{k}$  sponsors

As for the amendment rules, Figure 4 shows that strategic sponsoring is generally less likely to occur when the number of sponsors is weak relatively to the number of voters. For the french parliament ( $n = 577$ ), the frequencies are 0.016 for  $k = 3$  and 0.027 for  $k = 5$  (see the appendix for a table of values).

We next come to the general formulae, with  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ .

**Proposition 8** *Let  $SEm_{\frac{1}{2}}$  be the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$ ,  $K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma) =$*

$$\begin{cases} \frac{5(5n^3\sigma^4 + 78n^3\sigma^3 + 187n^3\sigma^2 - 462n^3\sigma - 96n^3 + 40n^2\sigma^4 + 662n^2\sigma^3 + 1628n^2\sigma^2 - 3878n^2\sigma - 804n^2 + 60n\sigma^4 + 1324n\sigma^3 + 3516n\sigma^2 - 7276n\sigma - 1368n + 480\sigma^3 + 1440\sigma^2 - 1920\sigma)}{8(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(5n^2\sigma^4 + 78n^2\sigma^3 + 187n^2\sigma^2 - 462n^2\sigma - 96n^2 + 20n\sigma^4 + 388n\sigma^3 + 1012n\sigma^2 - 2212n\sigma - 456n + 15\sigma^4 + 414\sigma^3 + 1161\sigma^2 - 2526\sigma - 408)}{8(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+2)(n+4)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

**Corollary 4** *In a large society,*

$$K(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma) = \frac{5(5\sigma^4 + 78\sigma^3 + 187\sigma^2 - 462\sigma - 96)}{8(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)}$$

For some special values of  $\sigma$ , we have:

$\sigma$ (sponsors)	3	4	5	6
$K(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma)$	0.252	0.303	0.313	0.307

Again, as for the amendment rule,  $K(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma)$  tends to 0 when  $\sigma$  tends to infinity. However, it is worth noting that for maximin the maximal occurrence when  $n$  tends to infinity is for five sponsors (this number was four for the amendment rules).

As for the amendment rules, we give formulae when  $n$  tends to infinity with some special values of  $\sigma$  and present the associated plots (Figure 5 and Figure 6). Formulae for the general case can be found in the associated working paper.

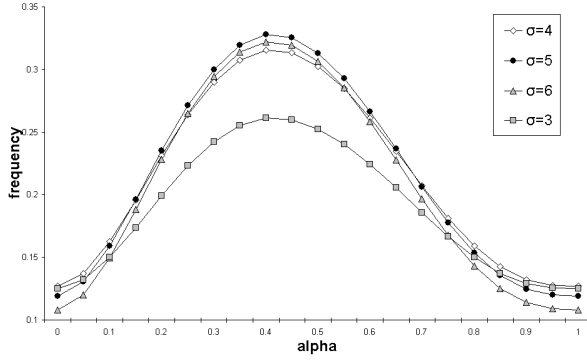
**Proposition 9** Suppose that  $SEm_\alpha$  is the voting rule. Then

$$K(\alpha, \infty, 3) = \begin{cases} \frac{180\alpha^2 - 420\alpha^3 + 180\alpha^4 + 108\alpha^5 + 7}{56} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-360\alpha + 1260\alpha^2 - 2100\alpha^3 + 1620\alpha^4 - 468\alpha^5 + 55}{56} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$K(\alpha, \infty, 4) = \begin{cases} \frac{590\alpha^2 - 1520\alpha^3 + 1065\alpha^4 - 62\alpha^5 + 16}{126} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-570\alpha + 2390\alpha^2 - 4480\alpha^3 + 3705\alpha^4 - 1118\alpha^5 + 89}{126} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$K(\alpha, \infty, 5) = \begin{cases} \frac{670\alpha^2 - 1790\alpha^3 + 1410\alpha^4 - 238\alpha^5 + 15}{126} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-420\alpha + 2050\alpha^2 - 4150\alpha^3 + 3570\alpha^4 - 1102\alpha^5 + 67}{126} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$K(\alpha, \infty, 6) = \begin{cases} \frac{1280\alpha^2 - 3490\alpha^3 + 2905\alpha^4 - 624\alpha^5 + 25}{231} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-590\alpha + 3280\alpha^2 - 7010\alpha^3 + 6185\alpha^4 - 1936\alpha^5 + 96}{231} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

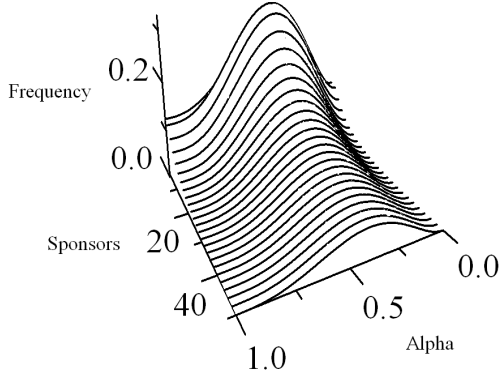


**Fig. 5** Strategic sponsoring under maximin for a large electorate

Figure 5 shows that all the curves have their local maxima around  $\alpha = \sqrt{2} - 1$ . However when the number of sponsors rises, the maxima move towards the ordinates axis.

For example for  $\sigma = 4$ , the maximum is obtain at  $\alpha = 0.414$ , and at  $\alpha = 0.412$  for  $\sigma = 6$ . Further, frequencies are highest for 5 sponsors, and the maximum (32.815 %) is reached at  $\alpha = 0.413$ . We can also analyze the evolution of the frequencies when the number of sponsors rises, by studying

the three-dimensional plot.



**Fig. 6** Strategic sponsoring under maximin for a large electorate

Again, it appears that, as the number of sponsors rises, (i) the trend of frequencies is decreasing and (ii) the local maxima correspond to values of  $\alpha$  closer to 0.

Then under successive elimination rules with maximin behavior, strategic sponsoring occurrence is maximal for  $\sigma = 5$  at  $\alpha$  around  $\sqrt{2} - 1$  and decreases with simple majority contests as  $\sigma$  gets larger.

#### 4.3 Successive elimination rules with maximax voters

Let  $J(\alpha, n, \sigma)$  be the likelihood of strategic sponsoring situations under successive elimination rules with  $\alpha$ -majority contests and with maximax voters a exists. Again, we first consider the  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$  case.

**Proposition 10** *Let  $SEM_{\frac{1}{2}}$  be the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$ ,  $J(\frac{1}{2}, n, k) =$*

$$\begin{cases} \frac{5kn \left( \frac{-72k^4n^2 - 288k^4n - 96k^4 - 454k^3n^3 - 2856k^3n^2 - 5352k^3n - 3840k^3 + 261k^2n^4 + 2004k^2n^3 + 4508k^2n^2 + 2880k^2n + 94kn^5 + 696kn^4 + 1512kn^3 + 960kn^2 + 3n^6 + 12n^5 + 4n^4}{16(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)(k+n)} \right)}{if \ n \equiv 0 \pmod{2}} \\ \frac{5k \left( \frac{-72k^4n^2 - 192k^4n + 264k^4 - 454k^3n^3 - 1904k^3n^2 - 1482k^3n + 261k^2n^4 + 1336k^2n^3 + 1283k^2n^2 + 94kn^5 + 464kn^4 + 402kn^3 + 3n^6 + 8n^5 - 11n^4}{16(2k+n)(3k+n)(4k+n)(5k+n)(n+2)(n+4)(k+n)} \right)}{if \ n \equiv 1 \pmod{2}} \end{cases}$$

For some special values of  $k$ , we have:

**Corollary 5** *Suppose that  $SEM_{\frac{1}{2}}$ . Then for  $n \geq 2$*

$$J\left(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{5}\right) = \begin{cases} \frac{25n(3n^6 + 482n^5 + 10\,009n^4 + 910n^3 - 284\,500n^2 - 777\,000n - 540\,000)}{16(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)^2(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{25(3n^6 + 478n^5 + 8834n^4 - 21\,340n^3 - 250\,925n^2 - 305\,250n + 165\,000)}{16(n+2)(n+4)(n+5)(n+10)(n+15)(n+20)(n+25)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

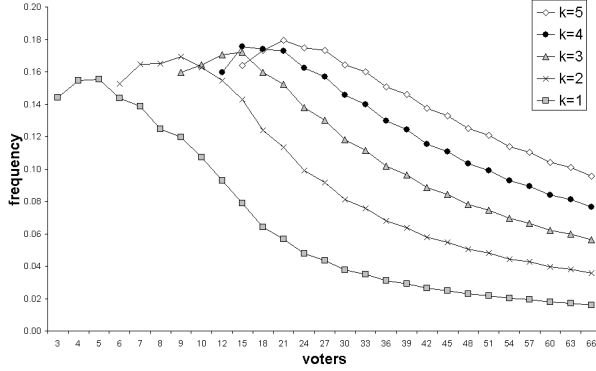
$$J\left(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{4}\right) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(3n^6 + 388n^5 + 6964n^4 + 9056n^3 - 125\,248n^2 - 370\,176n - 270\,336)}{4(n+1)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{15(n^6 + 128n^5 + 2007n^4 - 2024n^3 - 39\,920n^2 - 48\,000n + 22\,528)}{4(n+2)(n+4)^2(n+8)(n+12)(n+16)(n+20)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$J\left(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{3}\right) = \begin{cases} \frac{15n(3n^6 + 294n^5 + 4441n^4 + 10\,314n^3 - 39\,492n^2 - 141\,912n - 111\,456)}{16(n+1)(n+3)^2(n+5)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{15(3n^6 + 290n^5 + 3730n^4 + 972n^3 - 45\,693n^2 - 55\,566n + 21\,384)}{16(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+6)(n+9)(n+12)(n+15)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$J\left(\frac{1}{2}, n, \frac{n}{2}\right) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(3n^6 + 200n^5 + 2440n^4 + 7408n^3 - 4048n^2 - 35\,904n - 32\,256)}{8(n+1)(n+2)(n+3)(n+4)(n+5)(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(3n^6 + 196n^5 + 1961n^4 + 2516n^3 - 11\,252n^2 - 14\,928n + 4224)}{8(n+2)^2(n+4)^2(n+6)(n+8)(n+10)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

$$J\left(\frac{1}{2}, n, n\right) = \begin{cases} \frac{5n(3n^6 + 106n^5 + 961n^4 + 3062n^3 + 2540n^2 - 2760n - 3936)}{16(n+1)^2(n+2)(n+3)^2(n+4)(n+5)^2} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{15(n-1)(n^5 + 35n^4 + 273n^3 + 701n^2 + 470n - 88)}{16(n+1)(n+2)^2(n+3)(n+4)^2(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

We then plot the above frequencies in Figure 7:



**Fig. 7** Strategic sponsoring under maximax with  $\frac{n}{k}$  sponsors

And as for the two previous procedures, the frequency of coalitional strategic sponsoring, for a given value of  $n$ , is generally greater when the number of sponsors is small as compared with the number of voters. For the french parliament ( $n = 577$ ), the frequencies are 0.009 for  $k = 5$  and 0.002 for  $k = 1$  (see the appendix for a table of values).

We now examine the general case for simple majority.

**Proposition 11** Suppose that  $SEM_{\frac{1}{2}}$  is the voting rule. Then for  $n \geq 2$

and  $\sigma \geq 3$ ,  $J(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma) =$

$$\begin{cases} \frac{5(3n^3\sigma^4 + 94n^3\sigma^3 + 261n^3\sigma^2 - 454n^3\sigma - 72n^3 + 12n^2\sigma^4 + 696n^2\sigma^3 + 2004n^2\sigma^2 - 2856n^2\sigma - 288n^2 + 4n\sigma^4 + 1512n\sigma^3 + 4508n\sigma^2 - 5352n\sigma - 96n + 960\sigma^3 + 2880\sigma^2 - 3840\sigma)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+1)(n+3)(n+5)} & \text{if } n \equiv 0 \pmod{2} \\ \frac{5(3n^2\sigma^4 + 94n^2\sigma^3 + 261n^2\sigma^2 - 454n^2\sigma - 72n^2 + 8n\sigma^4 + 464n\sigma^3 + 1336n\sigma^2 - 1904n\sigma - 192n - 11\sigma^4 + 402\sigma^3 + 1283\sigma^2 - 1482\sigma + 264)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)(n+2)(n+4)} & \text{if } n \equiv 1 \pmod{2} \end{cases}$$

**Corollary 6** In a large society,

$$J(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma) = \frac{5(3\sigma^4 + 94\sigma^3 + 261\sigma^2 - 454\sigma - 72)}{16(\sigma+1)(\sigma+2)(\sigma+3)(\sigma+4)(\sigma+5)}$$

For special values of  $\sigma$ , we have:

$\sigma$ (sponsors)	3	4	5	6
$J(\frac{1}{2}, \infty, \sigma)$	0.172	0.188	0.184	0.174

Once again, the likelihood of strategic sponsoring is maximal for 4 sponsors. Note that  $J(\frac{1}{2}, n, \sigma)$  also tends to 0 as  $\sigma$  tends to infinity.

As for the two previous procedures general formulae are given in the associated working paper.

And for some arbitrary values of  $\sigma$  when  $n$  tends to infinity, we obtain:

**Proposition 12** Suppose that  $SEM_\alpha$  is the voting rule. Then

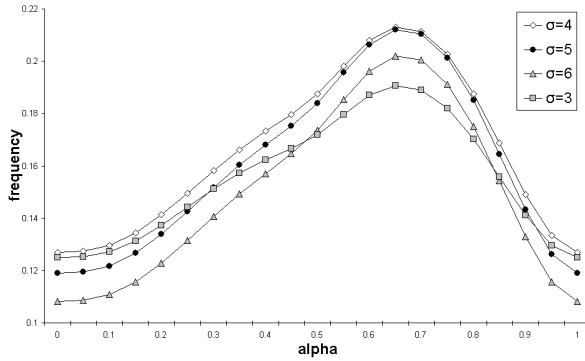
$$J(\alpha, \infty, 3) = \begin{cases} \frac{180\alpha^3 - 570\alpha^4 + 504\alpha^5 + 7}{56} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-780\alpha + 2040\alpha^2 - 2460\alpha^3 + 1350\alpha^4 - 264\alpha^5 + 121}{56} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$J(\alpha, \infty, 4) = \begin{cases} \frac{2(115\alpha^3 - 355\alpha^4 + 311\alpha^5 + 4)}{63} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{2(-480\alpha + 1230\alpha^2 - 1425\alpha^3 + 725\alpha^4 - 121\alpha^5 + 75)}{63} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$J(\alpha, \infty, 5) = \begin{cases} \frac{470\alpha^3 - 1435\alpha^4 + 1252\alpha^5 + 15}{126} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-1930\alpha + 4900\alpha^2 - 5570\alpha^3 + 2725\alpha^4 - 412\alpha^5 + 302}{126} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

$$J(\alpha, \infty, 6) = \begin{cases} \frac{845\alpha^3 - 2565\alpha^4 + 2233\alpha^5 + 25}{231} & \text{if } 0 \leq \alpha \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{-3440\alpha + 8690\alpha^2 - 9775\alpha^3 + 4675\alpha^4 - 663\alpha^5 + 538}{231} & \text{if } \frac{1}{2} \leq \alpha < 1 \end{cases}$$

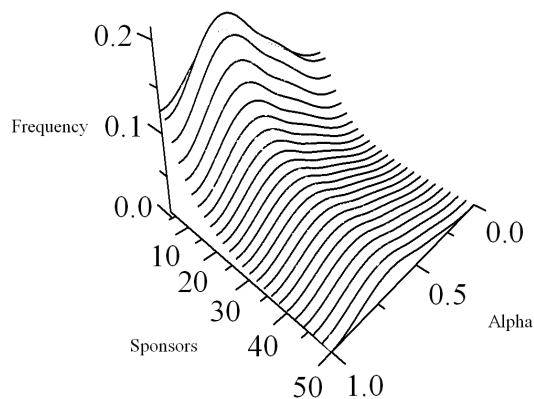
And graphically in Figure 8 and Figure 9:



**Fig. 8** Strategic sponsoring under maximax for a large electorate

The four frequency curves reveal a local maximum at around  $\alpha = 0.66$ . But contrary to the maximin case, the maxima move at the further from the ordinates axis as the number of sponsors rises. For example for  $\sigma = 3$  and  $\sigma = 5$ , the maximum is obtain at  $\alpha = 0.661$  and at  $\alpha = 0.665$ , respectively. Moreover the frequency is highest for  $\sigma = 4$ , and for  $\alpha = 0.664$ , strategic sponsoring frequencies grow up to 21.335 %.





**Fig. 9** Strategic sponsoring under maximax for a large electorate

A close look at Figure 9 confirms that for small values of  $\sigma$ , there is a local maximum around  $\alpha = 0.66$ . But as the number of sponsors gets larger, there is a shift of this maximum towards values of  $\alpha$  that are closer to 1.

Then under successive elimination rules with maximax, strategic sponsoring occurrence is maximal when  $\sigma = 4$ , at  $\alpha$  around 0.66 and with  $\alpha = \frac{1}{2}$ , the smaller the number of sponsors as compared with the number of voters, the higher the frequencies.

## 5 Concluding discussion

The goal of this paper was to compare three families of parliamentary rules through the study of their vulnerability to strategic sponsoring. In order to do that, we were concerned with computing the frequency of voting situations at which parliamentary rules with  $\alpha$ -majority contests are vulnerable to coalitional strategic sponsoring of alternatives. Our results show how these frequencies change according to changes in the values of the number of voters, the number of sponsors and the qualified majority. Further, it appears that for all three families of rules: (i) frequencies tend to 0 as the number of sponsors rises, *ceteris paribus*, that is with a fixed number of voters and given any value of  $\alpha$ ; (ii) however, notice that in actual situations - as emphasized by Dutta and Pattanaik (1978, p. 169) - the number of sponsors is generally very small as compared with the number of voters, and then frequencies are higher.

It also appears that for every possible qualified majority  $\alpha$ , and given the number of sponsors and the number of voters, frequencies are always higher with the two versions of successive elimination than with amendment. Now, comparing successive elimination with either maximin or maximax does not lead to a clear conclusion of this kind. However, we observe that for

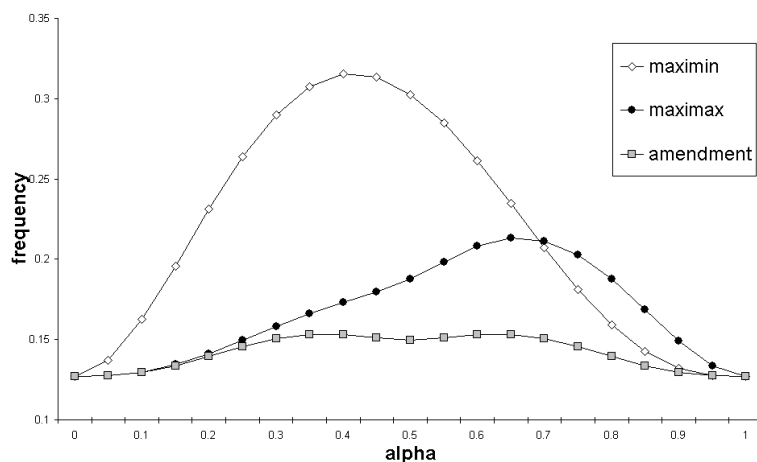
small values of  $\alpha$ , frequencies are higher for maximin than for maximax, as illustrated with four sponsors in Figure 10 (see the appendix).

Besides, note that some other results can be derived from the characterizations. We observe that for none of the voting rules under study does the set of strategic sponsoring opportunities coincide with the set of Condorcet cycles. However, for amendment rule, strategic sponsoring Types 3 and 4 requires the presence of a Condorcet cycle, while there is no such relation for the other two rules. In the same way, it can also easily be checked that with single-peaked individual preferences (voters and sponsors), strategic sponsoring occurs under the three procedures.

Finally, it is worth noting that these procedures have been studied in the literature in the context of strategic voting (see Favardin and Lepelley 2006; or Mbih, Moyouwou and Zhao 2006) and it may be interesting to consider some slightly different context by specifically assuming that sponsors participate to the final vote, and examining the possibility of combined strategic sponsoring and strategic voting.

## Appendix

In this appendix, we give a figure comparing the three rules for large electorates and we also gives tables summarizing the results given in Section 4.



**Fig. 10** Strategic sponsoring under the three rules

**Table 1** Strategic sponsoring with  $\frac{n}{k}$  sponsors with  $\alpha = 1/2$ 

Amendment						Successive with maximin						Successive with maximax					
$\sigma$	$n$	(n/5)	(n/4)	(n/3)	(n/2)	$n$	(n/5)	(n/4)	(n/3)	(n/2)	$n$	(n/5)	(n/4)	(n/3)	(n/2)	$n$	
3						0.13648					0.27684					0.14413	
4						0.14727					0.26449					0.15445	
5						0.13681					0.26600					0.14358	
6						0.14278					0.25901					0.15947	
7						0.14653					0.25940					0.16500	
8						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
9						0.14288					0.25469					0.16500	
10						0.14287					0.25469					0.16500	
11						0.14287					0.25469					0.16500	
12						0.14287					0.25469					0.16500	
13						0.14287					0.25469					0.16500	
14						0.14416					0.25469					0.16500	
15						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
16						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
17						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
18						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
19						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
20						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
21						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
22						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
23						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
24						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
25						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
26						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
27						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
28						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
29						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
30						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
31						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
32						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
33						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
34						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
35						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
36						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
37						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
38						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
39						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
40						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
41						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
42						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
43						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
44						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
45						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
46						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
47						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
48						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
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60						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
61						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
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64						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
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66						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
67						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
68						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
69						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
70						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
71						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
72						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
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81						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
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83						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
84						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
85						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
86						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
87						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
88						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
89						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
90						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
91						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
92						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
93						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
94						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
95						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
96						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
97						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
98						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
99						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	
100						0.14883					0.25469					0.16500	

Successive with maximin

(n/5)	(n/4)	(n/3)	(n/2)	n
				0.21684
				0.26449
				0.27217
				0.27568
				0.25940
				0.25459
				0.23464
				0.22893
				0.20525
				0.17077
				0.15267
				0.13112
				0.11996
				0.10572
				0.09834
				0.08834
				0.07577
				0.07194
				0.06629
				0.06335
				0.05889
				0.05488
				0.05036
				0.04657
				0.04270
				0.03883
				0.03496
				0.03109
				0.02722
				0.02335
				0.01948
				0.01561
				0.01174
				0.00787
				0.00400
				0.00013

Successive with maximax

(n/5)	(n/4)	(n/3)	(n/2)	n
				0.14413
				0.15445
				0.15533
			0.15260	0.14358
			0.16480	0.13872
			0.16500	0.12452
		0.15947	0.16923	0.11977
		0.16417	0.16263	0.10711
	0.15966	0.17044	0.15440	0.09275
0.16389	0.17565	0.17198	0.1429	0.07901
0.17317	0.17379	0.15949	0.12395	0.06404
0.17941	0.17278	0.15212	0.11348	0.05675
0.17472	0.16244	0.13795	0.09915	0.04785
0.17311	0.15708	0.13022	0.09152	0.04359
0.16437	0.14582	0.11811	0.08109	0.03782
0.16018	0.13987	0.11157	0.07560	0.03510
0.15085	0.12966	0.10177	0.06787	0.03108
0.14608	0.12419	0.09649	0.06385	0.02922
0.13734	0.11540	0.08861	0.05798	0.02630
0.13273	0.11065	0.08438	0.05495	0.02496
0.12490	0.10320	0.07799	0.05037	0.02274
0.12071	0.09916	0.07459	0.04804	0.02175
0.11383	0.09285	0.06936	0.04439	0.02001
0.11011	0.08943	0.06658	0.04255	0.01924
0.10410	0.08406	0.06224	0.03958	0.01784
0.10083	0.08116	0.05995	0.03811	0.01723
0.09556	0.07657	0.05631	0.03565	0.01608
0.09090	0.07173	0.05253	0.03341	0.01166

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